

Coffee, Cocaine and Kidnappings

Swedish media's portrayal of the Colombian conflict

Joel Arvidsson

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Supervisor: Magnus Danielsson



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Abstract

The Colombian society is heading towards a new political dawn with the signing of the peace accord between the government and the Marxist guerrilla Farc in 2016. The civil war between the guerrilla and the Colombian state broke out in the 1960's, and has gathered a lot of media attention over the years. This thesis will focus on how Swedish media has portrayed the conflict, and what frames they are using – a frame that is focusing on peace or a frame that focus on war? The study will be carried out with a qualitative content analysis method based on Johan Galtung's Peace Journalism theory, examining 148 articles published by Svenska Dagbladet, Dagens Nyheter, Aftonbladet and Expressen on the subject of the Colombian conflict during the years 1995, 2002, 2009 and 2017.

Nyckelord/Keywords

Farc, Colombia, Conflict, Peace Journalism, Svenska Dagbladet, Aftonbladet, Dagens Nyheter, Expressen, War Journalism, Johan Galtung.

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1. Introduction

Two years ago, something extraordinary happened in Colombia: the worlds longest civil war in moderns times came to an end by the ratification of the peace agreement between the government and the leftist guerilla Farc, thus propelling the country into a new political era.

However, many issues still remain unsolved. Cocaine has still a ubiquitous presence in Colombia and even after the peace accord there is still numerous guerilla-groups, dissidents and armed mafia-organizations. Somehow, violence and crime in Colombia has not been spurned by the peace agreement, and an important question conflict reporters ought to ask themselves are: what is your role in the producing violence in Colombia?

To be fair, it is not an easy question to answer. However, Norwegian peace researcher Johan Galtung argues that reporters has a great responsibility in reproducing conflicts and spirals of violence. In his theory Galtung creates a line between two schools of conflict reporting: war reporting and peace promoting. If you are a war reporter, you report in such a way that violence will reproduce itself, and if you are a peace reporter you report in a way that tries to explain a complex situation and promote peace rather than more violence (Galtung, 2002; 2006). According to Galtung, a vast majority of the world conflict reporters are leaning towards war journalism (Ibid.). But is that really the case?

This article takes aim to examine how Swedish media has portrayed the Colombian conflict, and what frame they use – war reporting or peace promoting. The Colombian conflict is both complex and unique, but a study that examines Swedish conflict reporting behavior in this specific case could lead to a more extensive research in the future regarding conflict reporting in Sweden.

Also, this articles aim is to answer the question if there is a difference in the use of Galtung's conflict frames between daily- and evening newspapers in Sweden, since I want to examine if peace or war journalism is more prevalent in a certain news-producing format.

1.2. Purpose & research question

The main purpose of the study is to examine how Swedish media is portraying the Colombian conflict, based in Galtung's theories in war and peace journalism.

Research Questions:

1. How is Swedish media framing the Colombian conflict?
2. What difference, if any, are there in the framing between:
 - a) daily- and evening newspapers
 - b) liberal, conservative and social democrat papers

1.3. Background

The background to the civil war between leftist guerrillas and the Colombian government can be traced to the killing of the popular Liberal politician Jorge Eliécer Gaitán in Bogotá, 1948 (Landguiden, 2018).

Gaitán was most likely going to win the president election later that year, and the politician benefitted from his popular demands on land reform. When he was shot, violence broke out in the country, and the only two big parties at the time – the Liberals and the Conservatives – killed each other en masse in this unconventional civil war. The fighting continued for ten years, and when the two parties finally reached to an agreement, more than 200 000 Colombians was already killed (Landguiden, 2018).

The agreement between the Liberals and Conservatives stipulated that the two parties were to split the power between them – each party ruling for four years and then switch. This alliance, or *National Front* as they called it, effectively shut out all other parties, especially the growing leftist parties that demanded land reform. Many guerrillas were formed during the reign of the National Front, and among them, in 1964, *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia* – Farc (Landguiden, 2018).

The heavy fighting between Farc and the government didn't really take of until the 80's, when drug cartels and right wing paramilitaries got thrown into the mix. The cartels got more powerful and violent during the cocaine boom in the 80's, and when the National Front lost its political stronghold in 1986, the rich landowners formed private militias to secure their land interest and to protect them against the increasingly violent leftist guerrillas (Farc was not the only guerrilla, M-19 and ELN was two other actors) (Landguiden, 2018).

When Farc was growing in numbers and resources – much thanks to the lucrative businesses of cocaine trade and kidnappings – USA was getting involved in the conflict as well. Partially because they were officially fighting “The War on Drugs” on the cocaine trade, and partially

because Farc was getting more influential, and their involvement with the neighbours Venezuela did not fall in too much grace with the Americans (Ibid.).

The conflict culminated after Alvaro Uribe was elected president in Colombia in 2002. Uribe had promised to bring down Farc militarily, and even if he did not succeed immediately, he severely damaged the guerrilla and their chances to survival with his hard military policy (Landguiden, 2018).

During Uribe's tenure, the biggest paramilitary unit, AUC, turned in their weapons (Ibid.).

Uribe was succeeded by his former Secretary of Defence, Juan Manuel Santos. Santos soon started to negotiate a peace treaty with the weakened guerrilla. In 2016, there was a referendum in Colombia regarding the peace agreement, which ultimately was turned down by the public. However, shortly after Santos became a Nobel Peace Prize laureate in the winter of 2016, the congress accepted a revised version of the peace agreement, and this time a referendum was not necessary (Landguiden, 2018).

2. Theory

2.1. Previous Research

There is an abundance of literature covering both framing theory and war and peace journalism. To keep this article within its boundaries, I chose to use the most basic and profound sources – mainly by citing war and peace journalism-founder Johan Galtung, but also his main followers in the field of research, Jake Lynch and Annabel McGoldrick, who has converted Galtung's normative theory into journalistic practice.

However, I will present a couple of recent articles that has used war and peace journalism-theory in their research.

The Turkish researcher Arda Umut Saygin examined how the frames war and peace journalism in the reporting of the migration wave from Syria affected the Turkish public views of refugees. Generally, Saygin found, Turkish media usually adheres to war journalism in depicting the migration crisis, and portrays refugees mostly as a subject of negativity, which could affect the Turkish public view of refugees (Saygin, 2016).

The political scientist professor at University of Michigan, Yuri Zhukov and Matthew Baum, professor in communication at Harvard, researched the coverage of the Libyan civil war in international newspapers in 2015. They found that the nature of reporting, or how newspapers covers certain conflicts, tends to depend how news organizations navigate the political context in which they are based – medias in non-democracies proved to have a clear pro-incumbency bias in their coverage, while the opposite is true in media coverage in democracies (Zhukov, Baum, 2015).

Furthermore, Zhukov and Baum argue that reporting bias – media tendency to systematically under-report or over-report certain types of events – is a persistent problem for people affected of armed conflicts (Zhukov, Baum, 2015).

However, in a study performed by Hector Barajas, the Swedish-Colombian journalist examine when peace journalism can be malign rather than benign in reaching peace – especially in Colombia. Barajas argues that in the post-conflict situation between the Farc and the Colombian government, state-run media organisations are asked by their owners to produce peace journalism – but only if its beneficial for the peace process, and thus rendering it biased (Barajas, 2015).

In the following section I will examine and further elaborate the meaning of war and peace journalism. However, I will first briefly touch upon the concept of *framing theory*, a school of thought in communication studies were Galtung's peace journalism theory once emerged from. To understand Galtung's more normative theory concerning frames in conflict reporting, it is important to have some basic knowledge in framing theory.

2.2. Framing theory

In *framing theory* it's all about how you chose to present the reality – and which form of reality you chose to portray. To simplify, one could say that framing theory boils down to how a story or an event are being framed – or portrayed – in order to produce a specific significance as well as to the process that leads to this understanding (Shehata 2012: p. 327). In other words, media does not describe reality as it is – media merely reconstruct and depict reality. Peoples image of reality is often not images of reality at all, but only medias image of reality (Strömbäck 2012: p. 271).

Robert M. Entman, one of the more prominent researchers of framing theory suggests that the concept of framing offers a way to describe the power of a communicating text (1993: p. 51)

– the way we perceive reports depends on the messenger and his/hers conscious and subconscious choices. Furthermore, Entman argues that *selection* and *salience* always are prevalent when it comes to framing:

To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described (Entman 1993: 52 ff).

To exemplify, Entman use U.S news outlets reports on the Cold War. Civil wars were framed as problems, and the source to the problem were communist rebels who were portrayed as the aggressor (Ibid.). The U.S media also offered recommendations of particular solutions; often in U.S support to the “other side” of the conflict (Ibid.). To break it down even further, Entman suggests that frames highlights certain pieces of information about, for example, an event that is subject of a communication and thereby elevating them in salience (i.e. making them more noticeable to the audience)(Ibid.).

Much of the research on framing focus on the potential effect it can have on its audience – so-called *framing effects*, or *media effects* (Shehata 2012: p. 318 ff). These *effects* refer to when people are affected, directly or indirectly, by the media content (Ibid.).

One of the most famous experiments of testing framing effects was conducted by Daniel Kahneman and Amos Tversky in 1984, and shows the powerful effect framing can have on its audience. In the study, Kahneman and Tversky provided two different solutions to battle a hypothetical outbreak of an unusual Asian disease, which was expected to kill 600 people. If solution A were to be adopted, 200 people would be saved. If solution were to be implemented, there would be on-third probability that 600 people would be saved and two-thirds probability that no people would be saved. 72 per cent of the test group opted on solution A, 28 per cent chose solution B. In the next experiment, Kahneman and Tversky gave the test group identical options to treat the already described situation, however, they changed their framing of the solutions. Instead of *saving* 200 people – as was the framing in solution A – 400 people would die if the test group chose solution C. If solution D were to be adopted, there would be a one-third probability that nobody would die and two-thirds probability that 600 people would die. In this experiment the test groups answer was reversed: only 22 per cent chose solution C while 78 per cent chose solution D (Ibid; Entman 1993: p. 53-54; Kahneman & Tversky 1984). Given the identical options to a hypothetical disaster, the response was the complete opposite just by flipping the framing of the solutions.

It's hard to question that medias framing are having an impact on it's audience and how they perceive events and stories. However, the effects of framing vary depending on in which media climate the media recipient gathers it information. Information that are being communicated from outlets perceived as reliable increases the effect of framing, meanwhile when the consumer are subjected to "both sides" of the conflict framing effects tend do decrease (Shehata 2012: p. 333).

However, since I'm not conducting a framing analysis of my material – I have merely used the concepts behind framing theory as an inspiration, background and a tool for deeper understanding of war- and peace journalism – or examining the actual effects of framing, I think it is important to stress that there is no universal answer to what a frame is and not, and thus the term should be used carefully (Matthes, 2009: p. 360). I will further elaborate the method and operationalization behind the frames war- and peace journalism in this study in the Method section, however, I can disclose that I coded the frames as variables, defined them in a codebook and coded them in a quantitative content analysis fashion (Ibid.).

One could argue that this article would benefit from a framing analysis of the effects of war or peace journalism, since that is the core of Galtung' reasoning. However, a study of the effects from news article on people or institutions is very complicated and time consuming, and, truthfully, outside the boundaries of this article. That is why I merely took inspiration from framing analysing and settled with an article that is issue-specific to how the Swedish media portrayed the Colombian conflict.

2.3. War and Peace Journalism

The following sections will map out the background to peace journalism, PJ, discuss the differences between war journalism, WJ, and PJ, and the possible use of PJ opposed to WJ.

What is peace journalism?

The term *Peace Journalism* was created by the Norwegian peace researcher Johan Galtung in the 1970's, and claims that the media tends to report on violence and war in such a manner it actually could increase the violence and hostilities (Saygin, 2016: p. 74). This kind of journalism – *War Journalism* as Galtung prefers to call it – is not exclusively reported from raging war zones and foxholes, war journalism involves all kind of conflicts and atrocities, thus making it not only applicable during war time reporting. After decades of reporting mainly focuses on elite, conflict zones and noticeable effects, Galtung grew tired of the

mainstream media framing of war and conflict and created its antithesis – peace journalism (Ibid; Neumann & Fahmy, 2016: p. 223-224).

Over the years, Peace Journalism and its very normative attack on traditional media has gathered the attention of media researchers globally. Not only does it serve as a substitute to mainstream, or traditional, conflict reporting, it has during the years evolved to also focus on a proactive coverage and a nonviolent approach for reporters working in conflict zones (Neumann & Fahmy, 2016: p. 223-224). Based on its proactive stance towards peace, the introduction of peace journalism in newsroom all over the world has long been advocated by media critics, peace activists and journalists, but the requests has not been heeded by many since the decision is taken in the newsroom (by the editors), often based in the argument “that’s the way we do it”. (Ibid; Galtung, 2006: p. 1; Galtung, 2002: p. 259).

Peace Journalism vs. War Journalism

So, what defines these two competing frames? According to Galtung, peace journalism are similar to health journalism, where the entire process behind a disease are explained in detail and feature as a natural element. Sometimes the disease wins, sometimes the disease are defeated, but the journalistic task is to report the struggle between man and disease as objectively as possible, hoping that man prevails (Galtung, 2002: p. 259). War journalism, on the other hand, is more similar to sports journalism – somebody wins, there is a zero-sum game going on and the most important thing is winning and certainly not losing (Galtung, 2002: p. 259 ff).

War Journalism, or *The Low Road* as Galtung sometimes refer it to, reports on conflicts as if they were battles on a Gladiator arena; the parties – usually reduced or simplified to the number two – are opponents in a fight over which one of them to impose their goals and the underlying reporting model are very similar to a military briefing: who advances, who lays down their guns, who loses and counting losses in dead bodies and material damage (Ibid).

Where war journalism looks for reproducing conflict and war, *The High Road*, or Peace Journalism looks to transform the possibility of violence to an opportunity for human progress. To achieve human progress instead of a violence and war, an aspiring peace journalist-reporter needs to expand the reports and describe the entire context of the conflict: what is the conflict about? Who are the parties and what are their true goals? Are there any deeper roots to the problem? What are the invisible effects to the violence (Ibid)?

Table 1. Source: Galtung (2006).

PEACE JOURNALISM	WAR JOURNALISM
<p>I. PEACE/CONFLICT ORIENTED</p> <p>Explore conflict <u>formation</u>, X parties, Y goals, Z issues general “win-win” orientation</p> <p>Open space, open time; causes and outcomes anywhere, also in history/culture</p> <p>Making conflicts transparent</p> <p>Giving voice to all parties; empathy, understanding</p> <p>See conflict/war as problem, focus on conflict creativity</p> <p>Humanization of all sides; more so the worse the weapons</p> <p><u>Proactive</u>: prevention before any violence/war occurs</p> <p>Focus on invisible effects of violence (trauma and glory, damage to structure/culture)</p>	<p>I. WAR/VIOLENCE-ORIENTED</p> <p>Focus on conflict <u>arena</u>, 2 parties, 1 goal (win), war general zero-sum orientation</p> <p>Closed space, closed time; causes exits in arena, who threw the first stone</p> <p>Making wars opaque/secrets</p> <p>“Us-them” journalism, propaganda, voice, for “us”</p> <p>See “them” as the problem, focus on who prevails in war</p> <p>Dehumanization of “them”; more so the worse the weapon</p> <p><u>Reactive</u>: waiting for violence before reporting</p> <p>Focus only on visible effect of violence (killed, wounded and material damage)</p>
<p>II. TRUTH-ORIENTED</p> <p>Expose untruths on all sides</p> <p>/uncover all cover-ups</p>	<p>II. PROPAGANDA-ORIENTED</p> <p>Expose “their” untruths</p> <p>/help “our” cover-ups/lies</p>
<p>III. PEOPLE-ORIENTED</p> <p>Focus on suffering all over; on women, aged, children, giving voice to the voiceless</p> <p>Give name to all evil-doers</p> <p>Focus on people peace-makers</p>	<p>III. ELITE-ORIENTED</p> <p>Focus on “our” suffering; on able bodied elite males, being their mouth-piece</p> <p>Give name of their evil-doer</p> <p>Focus on elite peace makers</p>
<p>IV. SOLUTION-ORIENTED</p> <p>Peace = non-violence + creativity</p> <p>Highlight peace initiatives, also to prevent more war</p> <p>/ focus on structure, culture, the peaceful society.</p> <p>/ Aftermath: resolution, re-construction, reconciliation</p>	<p>IV. VICTORY-ORIENTED</p> <p>Peace = victory + cease-fire</p> <p>Conceal peace-time initiative, before victory is at hand</p> <p>Focus on treaty, institution the controlled society</p> <p>Leaving for another war, return if the old flames flares up.</p>

This table created by Galtung serves to map out the differences in reporting between a war journalist and a peace journalist. In the following section I will elaborate the dissimilarities even further.

In the following section, I will present McGoldrick, Lynch and Galtung's normative stance on how a peace journalist should act in practice, and their interpretation to Table 1.

I. Peace/Conflict-Oriented vs. War/Violence-Oriented

- To fit the bill of news-worthiness, war-oriented reporters usually simplify the context and the conflict, and boil down all conflicting actors into two active parties that are contesting the same goals, where the only logical outcome is one winner and one loser. Instead, peace-oriented journalism should, according to McGoldrick and Lynch (2000: p. 30-31) try to break up the warring parties into smaller groups and demonstrate how they usually pursuing many goals, not just the one.
- Instead of portraying a conflict as an event frozen in time and place, it is important to a peace journalist to open up the conflict by comparing it to other events to wider the context.
- Also, according to McGoldrick and Lynch (Ibid.), avoid focusing exclusively on one sides suffering. Portraying a conflict in an imbalanced fashion can create the notion of one side as only the villains and another side as the victim.
- Instead of pegging the warring sides against each other, a peace journalist should explore some common ground. According to McGoldrick and Lynch, some goals among warring parties can be shared (Ibid.).
- A peace journalist should avoid using terms as “self” and “other”. This could create a narrative that dehumanizes the “other” party. Instead, a PJ-reporter should seek the “other” in the “self”. Challenge the parties that call themselves “the good guys”.
- As a PJ-reporter, do not only report about “the horror” that is occurring, because if a reporter exclude everything else, he or she insinuates that the only answer to violence is more violence. Try instead to raise awareness of the frustrated people behind the violence and how they are getting deprived in every day life, in a effort to explain the conditions for where and why violence are being produced. Also, avoid blaming a certain party for “starting” the conflict. Instead, look at shared issues. Sensitive reporting like this could prevent conflicts from escalating.

– Do not merely evaluate the evidences of violent actions or policy of violence in terms of its visible effects only. Try to focus your reporting on invisible effects as well, such as the long-term consequences of psychological trauma as an example (McGoldrick & Lynch, 2000: p. 30-31; Galtung, 2002; Galtung; 2006).

II. Truth-Oriented vs. Propaganda-Oriented

– Simply put, stay clear of being a megaphone for one party during a conflict, report the truth and do it by not simply cover one side of the story. Also, be careful how you use your words when they clearly come from one party of the conflict. I.e., do not report that “Osama bin Laden is *said* to be responsible for the attack on New York”, but “Osama bin Laden, *accused* by America of ordering the attack on New York” (McGoldrick & Lynch, 2000: p. 32). Then you won’t be responsible for spreading allegations made by one party in the conflict against another party (Ibid; Galtung, 2002; Galtung 2006).

III. People-Oriented vs. Elite-Oriented

– Do not solely gather your information from elite members of conflicting parties, focus instead of giving a voice to the most affected by the conflict; women, children and old people in the conflict zones (if there in fact are conflict zones). How are they affected by the conflict? How are the soldiers affected by the choices of their leaders, and do they agree with them? What could be done differently?

Also, try not to use semantics such as “defenceless”, “pathetic”, “tragedy” and other derogative terms. Terms like that disempower groups, and tell us what already *happened* to them, not what actually could get done for them.

– Always give name to all wrongdoers, not just the ones on “their” side. By only focusing on human rights abuses from one side you are most likely to present a skewed picture of the reality. Instead, treat all wrongdoers equally, and call them for what they are – if evidence of their deeds exists. And at the same time, remember that it is equally important to treat the victims with respect, as it is to find and punish the wrongdoers.

Furthermore, adjectives like “vicious”, “cruel”, “brutal”, “barbaric”, and demonising labels such as “terrorist”, “extremist”, “fanatic” or “fundamentalist”. Using labels and adjectives like these only fuels the Us vs. Them narrative. By using that narrative is equal to picking a side,

because the adjectives is only used by describing what one side did to another one, and nobody would label him/herself as a “fanatic”. By using those terms, however brutal a terrorist attack was, you are actively picking sides.

Instead, call the people responsible for the incidents the same names as they call themselves, or at least try to provide more information of what they are. And when it comes to describing an event, report only of what you know of the wrongdoing, and if it’s still under investigation, make that fact clear.

– Try not to be passive and wait for information about peace or possible solutions from elite people (usually leaders) from “our” side. Instead, try to explore all peace initiatives, where else they appear. Ask the leaders or elite from where the peace solutions come from; maybe there is a grassroots organisation behind the initiative. Include the notion of a solution, however unlikely or impartial; it may help to stimulate the peace process (McGoldrick & Lynch, 2000: p. 30-33; Galtung, 2002; Galtung, 2006).

IV. Solution-Oriented vs. Victory-Oriented

– To be focusing on a solution and not a victory for a certain side much comes from reporting fair and not trying to escalate a conflict by using the wrong words. Avoid adjectives that are loaded:

– Genocide: Means to wipe out an entire people and by UN terminology it means the killing of more than half a million people.

– Tragedy: Form of a drama, where someone’s fault finally becomes his or her own undoing.

– Assassination: Literally means the murder of a head of state.

– Massacre: Deliberate killing of people that are neither armed nor fighting.

Instead, always be precise about what you know. There is no need to minimise suffering, however, there is no need to use hyperboles or misuse adjectives for dramatic effect.

– Try to highlight the on-going peace process; there is no need to wait for a cease-fire as it is not a prerequisite for peace. Alas, a peace through cease-fire are usually not stable, or comes via one groups domination over another. Instead, report on the issues that still remains and still may lead to further conflict (Ibid; Ibid; Ibid;).

2.4. Evening papers versus daily papers in relation to Peace Journalism

First of all, the political alignments are solely based on the newspapers editorial pages, where their writer adheres to political views in line with the newspapers political alignment.

Secondly, let's briefly describe the difference between daily- and evening papers in the Swedish context.

During an average day in Sweden in the age bracket 9-79, 45 % indulge in reading the daily news, no matter the platform (Mediekompassen, 2017). Only 21 % read the evening papers, in the same study (Ibid.). However, evening newspapers such as Aftonbladet and Expressen has a greater "reach" than the daily papers Svenska Dagbladet and Dagens Nyheter, meaning their journalistic output reaches more people on an average day in Sweden (Ibid.). In general, one could say that daily papers in Sweden has a greater trustworthiness among the people than evening papers, that are more as a tabloid media in style – meaning they use sharper news angles and are more prone to "cross the line". To illustrate this, during 2015, the Peoples Press-ombudsman in Sweden received 109 complaints on Expressen and 61 complaints on Aftonbladet, making them top of the list. In comparison, Dagens Nyheter got 30 complaints and Svenska Dagbladet twelve (Medievärlden, 2016).

In 2011, the Swedish media researcher Kent Asp studied the Swedish election of 2010 (Asp, 2011) and how Swedish media covered it. What Asp did was that he compared different Swedish news outlets and how much *information* (density, width and depth) they provided about the election (Ibid.).

Information-density means in what frequency an outlet reported – gave information – on the election. A news outlet can produce a high number of information density, however, if they only report on a narrow subject – i.e. only about immigration questions in the election – and not the election as a whole, the output of information is too narrow (Asp, 2011: p. 74-75). Thus, a demand of density must be asked in combination of width. What Asp means with width is the reporting of all relevant aspects of a subject (Ibid.). Lastly, Asp argues that it is important to add depth to width and density. Depth means taking into account deeper aspects, hidden facts, motives and background to events. Basically, putting the event or news story into a bigger picture (Ibid.).

Asp did find a difference in the flow of information between daily newspapers and evening newspapers. When it came to frequency and width, daily papers outscored evening papers.

However, evening papers outscored – in general – daily papers in depth (Asp, 2011: p. 85). This is interesting to this study, because Asp’s findings shows that there could be a difference in how different media formats dispatch information. Since Asp’s findings suggest that evening papers are more prone to write articles with a lot of information depth (Ibid.), they should also be more prone to peace journalism since variables such as deeper aspects, hidden facts, motives and backgrounds are all important to the peace journalism frame (Galtung, 2002; Galtung, 2006).

According to Swedish media researcher Jesper Strömbäck (2012: p. 279-281), Swedish media has a political leaning towards the right *and* the left. Right since most of the media organisation owners adhere to a right-wing view (thus making the editorial pages right-wing), and left since the representation of Swedish journalists are leaning more to the left than the population in general. This may be true, but there is no proof that the news is reported in a different way depending on the journalist own political preferences or the news outlets political alignment.

Instead of reporting in accordance to your political alignment, Strömbäck argues that you report within the boundaries and frames that fits your media format – i.e. evening news, morning news, radio, tv, etc (Ibid.). This is called “structural bias” (Hofstetter, 1976 in Strömbäck 2012; Strömbäck & Shehata, 2007, in Strömbäck 2012) or “media twisting” (Petersson et al, 2006, in Strömbäck 2012).

3. Method

My methodology will take a quantitative approach on content analysis by studying selected newspapers in Sweden reporting on the conflict in Colombia between the guerrilla FARC and the Colombian government (Östbye et al, 2003: p. 212-233). The research design was chosen on the basis of its effectiveness in trying hypothesis regarding newspapers work methods (Östbye et al, 2003: p. 230).

3.1. Quantitative content analysis

Quantitative content analysis, QCI, is a method that uses results from great amounts of data, and focuses its analysis on a “systematic, objective and quantitative description of the content

in a message” (Östbye et al, 2003: p. 213). In short, that means that you generate certain rules on how the material is supposed to be analysed, whilst trying to minimize the impact of the researchers own value and prejudices – also know as intersubjectivity – at the same time you strive to reach a description of the material based in numbers (Östbye et al, 2003: p. 213-214). I will in chapter 3.3. describe the use of this method in a greater detail.

I chose QCI as a research design since its effectiveness in trying hypothesis regarding newspapers work methods (Östbye et al, 2003: p. 230), but also because of its suitability to describe patterns and tendencies in media content (Östbye et al, 2003: p. 214).

In the following sections I will describe in more detail on how I carried out the QCI-method in this paper by creating a code system to code 148 articles about the Colombian conflict.

3.2.1. Material

I will be studying produced content from following Swedish media outlets (with political alignment in brackets): *Svenska Dagbladet* (independent moderate), *Dagens Nyheter* (independent liberal), *Expressen* (independent liberal) and *Aftonbladet* (independent social democratic). All of the material will be retrieved from the digital article archive “Retriever”.

I chose to only study material from newspapers, partly because it provides me with a neat delimitation of material, and partly because written material are well adjusted for the methodology of content analysis (Östbye et al, 2003: p. 224). Furthermore, I will only study printed media.

The selection of newspapers is based on my research question. Since my aim is to describe if there is a difference in reporting between daily- and evening press, I chose examples from both categories. Furthermore, since I want to examine if there is a difference in war/peace journalism reporting based on the political alignment with the dispatch, I wanted a sample that included newspapers that were aligned to moderate, liberal and social democratic political views.

3.2.2. Selection of material

To complete a quantitative content analysis, I wanted to code between 100-150 articles in order to answer my research question. The selection was based on the search term “Colombia”, with the sub-search terms “civil war”, “farc” and “conflict”, and consisted all published material from the four units of examination between 1964 (the year that FARC was

founded) and today. To reach a mountable number of units to analyse, I used the selection method of *random selection* (Östbye et al, 2003: p. 244-245). In short, I wrote down all the years available (1990-2018) from the retriever-search on separate piece of papers, and put them in a bowl. The first four years I drew from the bowl would be my population of study.

I used this method because the total number of articles – which would be the most accurate method – was too many to analyse. I decided to choose four years, because it seemed to be the lowest number of years to get a sufficient population – a suspicion that proved to be accurate.

The years that was randomly decided was 1995 (54 articles), 2002 (33 articles), 2009 (49 articles) and 2017 (12 articles), bringing the total number of analysed units to 148.

I only analysed articles that was a) produced content from the newspapers or its contributors, since I didn't want to analyse telegrams from news bureaus used by all newspapers, b) stand alone articles (not fact boxes), and c) actually about the Colombian conflict (some articles were about conflict and civil war, but not in Colombia).

3.3. Codes, categories and characteristics

As war/peace journalism is a normative theory of how conflict reporting *should* be conducted (Galtung, 2002; Galtung, 2006), it is not always as clear-cut division between the concepts. Usually, conflict reporting will include characteristics from both concepts – my challenge will be how to explain if the reporting leans toward the notion of war journalism or peace journalism. Therefore, I will use a *deductive category application* that will determine under what exact circumstances a text can be coded with a category (Mayring, 2000; Elo & Kyngäs, 2007). The deductive category application will be based on the essential differences between war- and peace journalism presented in the theory section, especially the following segment to Table 1. No examples will be translated from the original source.

The usage of a deductive category application will also try to ensure that the study will be as objective, or intersubjective, as possible (Östbye et al, 2003: p. 213-214). Intersubjectivity basically means that other researchers will be able to code the same material as me and reach the same result and conclusion (Ibid.). To achieve the demand of intersubjectivity, one need to be precise with the coding rules, and to present a decent *validity* – measuring what you claim to be measuring – and *reliability* – the overall consistency of a measure (Östbye et al, 2003: 213ff).

In a quantitative content analysis, it is hard to ensure the validity, since there is in no way possible to confirm that the variables, or categories, matches' reality (Ibid.). However, one can try to ensure the reliability by letting a different coder code your material to see if there is conformity of the classifications and categories (Ibid.). Unfortunately, it wasn't possible to perform a reliability test in this study.

Instead of a test to ensure a decent reliability, I chose to use few categories to code my material, since there would be fewer opportunities to misinterpret. Also, the categories I used are fairly mutual exclusive (Ibid.), meaning it can't be either or and therefore easier to code. The danger here – as I mentioned above – is coding the War versus Peace categories, since they need to be analysed very closely and meticulous to not be misinterpreted.

Table 2.

Category	Definition	Examples	Coding Rules
1. War/Violence-Oriented	<p>Promoting further violence/war by reporting:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Focus on conflict arena, 2 parties, 1 goal (win), war general zero-sum orientation - Closed space, closed time; causes exits in arena, who threw the first stone - Making wars opaque/secrets - “Us-them” journalism, propaganda, voice, for “us” - See “them” as the problem, focus on who prevails in war - Dehumanization of “them”; more so the worse 	<p>“Expressen anser att kidnappning är terrorism som aldrig kan försvaras.” (#21)</p> <p>“Gerillan gör stor affär av övergrepp från regeringssidan. Det är dags att omvärlden offentligt fördömer Farc för deras kidnappningar och våldsdåd” (#14)</p>	<p>An article is coded as War Journalism if its content contains of more War/Violence-Oriented features than Peace/Conflict-Oriented features.</p>

	<p>the weapon</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <u>Reactive</u>: waiting for violence before reporting - Focus only on visible effect of violence (killed, wounded and material damage) 		
2. Peace/Conflict-Oriented	<p>Promoting peace by reporting:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Explore conflict <u>formation</u>, X parties, Y goals, Z issues general “win-win” orientation - Open space, open time; causes and outcomes anywhere, also in history/culture - Making conflicts transparent - Giving voice to all parties; empathy, understanding - See conflict/war as problem, focus on conflict creativity - Humanization of all sides; more so the worse the weapons - <u>Proactive</u>: prevention before any violence/war occurs - Focus on invisible effects of violence (trauma and glory, damage to structure/culture) 	<p>“När Farc nu lägger ner sina vapen återvänder ett stort antal barn som antingen kidnappats eller på olika sätt lockats, ibland med hjälp av löften om skor och märkeskläder, för att slåss eller utföra andra uppgifter för Farc.” (58)</p>	<p>An article is coded as Peace Journalism if its content contains more Peace/Conflict - Oriented features than War/Violence-Oriented features.</p>

3. Not Applicable	If an article contains balanced features of both war- and peace journalism.		An article is coded as N/A if it neither WJ nor PJ content is overwhelmingly presented.
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Category	Definition	Examples	Coding Rules
1. Propaganda-Oriented	- Expose “their” untruths /help “our” cover-ups/lies	“De beväpnade männen tillhörde Autodefensas Gaitanistas de Colombia (AGC), en paramilitär grupp med sina rötter i högermilisen AUC, som på 1990-talet och 2000-talet mördade tiotusentals och tvångsflyttade miljoner människor. AGC har dragit igång en mordisk kampanj mot poliser, privata företagare och civila.” (#66)	An article is coded as War Journalism if its content contains of more Propaganda-Oriented features than Truth-Oriented features.
2. Truth-Oriented	- Expose untruths on all sides /uncover all cover-ups	(#110). Focus on all sides, and what they are saying.	An article is coded as Peace Journalism if its content contains more Truth-Oriented features than Propaganda-Oriented features.

3. Not Applicable	If an article contains balanced features of both war- and peace journalism.		An article is coded as N/A if it neither WJ nor PJ content is overwhelmingly presented.
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Category	Definition	Examples	Coding Rules
1. Elite-Oriented	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Focus on “our” suffering; on able bodied elite males, being their mouth-piece - Give name of their evil-doer - Focus on elite peace makers 	(#110) Telling example. Truth-oriented, but also elite-oriented. Only communiqués from elite-leaders.	An article is coded as War Journalism if its content contains of more Elite-Oriented features than People-Oriented features.
2. People-Oriented	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Focus on suffering all over; on women, aged, children, giving voice to the voiceless - Give name to all evil-doers - Focus on people peace-makers 	<p>“Nästan 40 procent av colombianska Farc soldater är kvinnor. När de blev gravida under gerillatiden togs deras nyfödda bebisar ifrån dem. Nu när Farc är i slutfasen av att avväpnas är det inte längre förbjudet att bli med barn. Det råder babyboom i avväpningslägren.”</p> <p>(#61)</p>	An article is coded as Peace Journalism if its content contains more People -Oriented features than Elite-Oriented features.
3. Not Applicable	If an article contains balanced features of both war- and peace journalism.		An article is coded as N/A if it neither WJ nor PJ content is overwhelmingly

			presented.
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Category	Definition	Examples	Coding Rules
1. Victory-Oriented	<p>Peace = victory + cease-fire</p> <p>Conceal peace-time initiative, before victory is at hand</p> <p>Focus on treaty, institution the controlled society</p> <p>Leaving for another war, return if the old flames flares up.</p>	<p>“När han räddat landet undan kommunismen ska han sluta kriga.” (76).</p> <p>“Rebellerna hade kommit för att be om ursäkt för en massaker som begicks 2002”. (#66)</p>	An article is coded as War Journalism if its content contains of more Victory-Oriented features than Solution-Oriented features.
2. Solution-Oriented	<p>Peace = non-violence + creativity</p> <p>Highlight peace initiatives, also to prevent more war</p> <p>/ focus on structure, culture, the peaceful society.</p> <p>/ Aftermath: resolution, reconstruction, reconciliation</p>	<p>“War child arbetar också med barn som påverkats av konflikten på andra sätt än att ha levt med en gerillagrupp. Jan De Waegemaerker pekar på att eftersom konflikten pågått så länge är det vanligt med familjer där flera generationer växt upp och levt i en värld där våld och krig är normalt.” (58).</p>	An article is coded as Peace Journalism if its content contains more Solution-Oriented features than Victory-Oriented features.
3. Not Applicable	If an article contains balanced features of both war- and peace journalism.		An article is coded as N/A if it neither WJ nor PJ content is overwhelmingly

			presented.
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Except from this “war journalism versus peace journalism”- category and its sub-categories, I have also included “Gender”, “Publication”, “Article Theme”, “Article Focus” and “Published”. Gender, publication and published are simply based on a) the reporter/writers gender (a third choice was added if there was a mix), b) from which publication published the article and c) which year was the article published.

The category “Article Focus” was divided up in five variables: violent actions, negotiations, conflict in general, Swedish interest and peace agreement. The article was coded after the main angle or focus of the article.

The category “Article Theme” was more complicated, and was divided up nine variables: editorial, news article, story/reportage, interview, debate article, review, chronicle, comment and essay. Since many of these are quite similar and hard to keep apart, I operationalized them in the following fashion:

1. Editorial: Has to be taken from the editorial section of the newspaper.
2. News article: A text solely based on facts, with a total lacking of the writers own opinions. Includes at least a header, a lead and a body text (Mediakompass 1, 2018)
3. Story/Reportage: A longer news article, still without the writers own opinions, but the language is more “alive” and descriptive of the scenery, and the main focus is on the people it follows (Mediakompass 2, 2018)
4. Interview: When there is an interview with one or more people *about* him/her/ those people.
5. Debate article: Published on the Debate-section of the newspaper.
6. Review: A review of a book, movie, music album et cetera.
7. Chronicle: A personal written comment on a subject written by somebody with his/her own byline in the studied newspaper.
8. Comment: Similar to the chronicle, however a comment – in this study – is a analysing product, written in a personal fashion in direct relation to an event.
9. Essay. Only used when the article stems from “Under Strecket” in Svenska Dagbladet.

4. Result

Under this section, I will present the results relevant to my research questions and sub-questions. In the following chapter, I will conduct a discussion of the findings and possible explanations to them, before I will finish this paper with a short conclusion.

4.1. How is Swedish media framing the Colombian conflict?

As you can see in Table 3, Galtung's theory – more reporters report in a WJ-fashion – is accurate when it comes to Swedish media portraying the Colombian conflict – there is a heavy war journalism-dominance with 70,9 % of the 148 examined articles. Only 17, 6 % of the articles were considered to be peace journalism and 11,5 % was either neither or both (in a to similar fashion).

When it comes difference over the years, the two early years, 1995 and 2002, saw a slightly higher representation of war journalism than the general number 70,9 %. After that, there was a down-spiralling trend when it came to war journalism-articles, and during last year, 2017, the twelve articles that were under examination was equally divided up between WJ and PJ.

Table 3.

		Published * War vs Peace Crosstabulation				
			War vs Peace			
		N/A	War Journalism	Peace Journalism	Total	
Published	1995	Count	6	40	8	54
		% within Published	11,1%	74,1%	14,8%	100,0%
	2002	Count	3	25	5	33
		% within Published	9,1%	75,8%	15,2%	100,0%
	2009	Count	8	34	7	49
		% within Published	16,3%	69,4%	14,3%	100,0%
	2017	Count	0	6	6	12
		% within Published	0,0%	50,0%	50,0%	100,0%
Total		Count	17	105	26	148
		% within Published	11,5%	70,9%	17,6%	100,0%

However, depending on the article theme, there were some outliers: the story/reportage format, reviews and essays proved to have a tendency towards peace journalism, as seen in Table 4.

Table 4.

ArtTheme * War vs Peace Crosstabulation

		War vs Peace			Total	
		N/A	War Journalism	Peace Journalism		
ArtTheme	Editorial	Count	0	5	5	
		% within ArtTheme	0,0%	100,0%	0,0%	100,0%
	News	Count	12	82	8	102
		% within ArtTheme	11,8%	80,4%	7,8%	100,0%
	Story/Reportage	Count	2	5	9	16
		% within ArtTheme	12,5%	31,3%	56,3%	100,0%
	Interview	Count	1	3	2	6
		% within ArtTheme	16,7%	50,0%	33,3%	100,0%
	Debate Article	Count	0	3	2	5
		% within ArtTheme	0,0%	60,0%	40,0%	100,0%
	Review	Count	1	1	2	4
		% within ArtTheme	25,0%	25,0%	50,0%	100,0%
	Chronicle	Count	1	4	1	6
		% within ArtTheme	16,7%	66,7%	16,7%	100,0%
	Comment	Count	0	2	1	3
		% within ArtTheme	0,0%	66,7%	33,3%	100,0%
	Essay	Count	0	0	1	1
		% within ArtTheme	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%	100,0%
Total		Count	17	105	26	148
		% within ArtTheme	11,5%	70,9%	17,6%	100,0%

Also, as demonstrated in Table 5, studying Swedish reporters habits when it comes to WJ or PJ-reporting in different article focus, only when the articles main focus was “peace agreement”, there was tendency towards PJ. When it came to reporting direct actions of violence, all articles but one (N/A) was coded as WJ.

Table 5.

Theme Variable * War vs Peace Crosstabulation						
Theme Variable	N/A		War vs Peace			Total
			N/A	War Journalism	Peace Journalism	
N/A	Count		3	1	0	4
	% within Theme Variable		75,0%	25,0%	0,0%	100,0%
Direct Violence	Count		1	12	0	13
	% within Theme Variable		7,7%	92,3%	0,0%	100,0%
Discussions	Count		0	2	1	3
	% within Theme Variable		0,0%	66,7%	33,3%	100,0%
Conflict In General	Count		1	33	13	47
	% within Theme Variable		2,1%	70,2%	27,7%	100,0%
Swedish interest	Count		11	56	8	75
	% within Theme Variable		14,7%	74,7%	10,7%	100,0%
The Peace Agreement	Count		0	1	4	5
	% within Theme Variable		0,0%	20,0%	80,0%	100,0%
9	Count		1	0	0	1
	% within Theme Variable		100,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
Total	Count		17	105	26	148
	% within Theme Variable		11,5%	70,9%	17,6%	100,0%

4.2. What difference, if any, are there in the framing between daily- and evening newspapers?

All the examined news outlets had a tendency towards WJ – although, the two daily papers (Dagens Nyheter and Svenska Dagbladet) were slightly below the average of WJ-articles, and Expressen was just 0,1 % above the average. The one outlier, Aftonbladet, was 9,1 % above the average, and had the highest number of WJ-articles.

The Liberal newspaper Dagens Nyheter had the lowest per cent of WJ-articles, the moderate newspaper Svenska Dagbladet had the second lowest while the only social democratic newspaper Aftonbladet had the highest number of WJ-articles.

Table 6.

News Outlet * War vs Peace Crosstabulation

News Outlet			War vs Peace		Total
			N/A	War Journalism	
Svenska Dagbladet	Count	9	39	9	57
	% within News Outlet	15,8%	68,4%	15,8%	100,0%
Dagens Nyheter	Count	2	20	8	30
	% within News Outlet	6,7%	66,7%	26,7%	100,0%
Expressen	Count	3	22	6	31
	% within News Outlet	9,7%	71,0%	19,4%	100,0%
Aftonbladet	Count	3	24	3	30
	% within News Outlet	10,0%	80,0%	10,0%	100,0%
Total	Count	17	105	26	148
	% within News Outlet	11,5%	70,9%	17,6%	100,0%

5. Concluding Discussion

Galtung’s, Lynch and McGoldrick’s and Neuman & Fahmy’s assumptions proved to be right (Neumann & Fahmy, 2016: p. 223-224; Galtung, 2006: p. 1; McGoldrick & Lynch, 2000) – Swedish media was portraying the Colombian conflict in a war journalism fashion.

The result was in fact a decisive victory for war journalism. However, I think there is room for some explanations here. As said by Galtung (2006: p. 1), many journalists never even make the choice between WJ and PJ since the newsroom and the editors (“that’s the way we always done”). That could very well be true, although, there is reason to look further than the WJ/PJ dichotomy. I find two subjects interesting to discuss further: news stories and the Swedish angle.

Looking back at Table 1 in this thesis, WJ is described almost as blueprint for a news reporter. Not a journalist as a whole, but a news reporter. As described by Marina Ghersetti, a news reporter values variables as *proximity*, *deviations*, *elite-focus* and *simplification* when it comes to writing a story, simply because it then receives a higher probability to pass the internal article selection at the internal newsroom (Ghersetti, 2012: p. 212-223). News from Colombia travels a great distance, both in time and space (especially during the 1995, the earliest studied year in this paper), so what a reporter lacks in proximity, he or she must gain that in something else. Deviations (massacres, kidnappings), elite-focus and simplifying a complex situation all marks as WJ, thus making simple news articles perfect for WJ reporting.

Bearing that in mind, when we compare the article themes of the coded units, the variable “News” are heavily over-represented in numbers, out of the 148 coded articles, 102 – or 68,9

% – was coded as “News”. Out of those 102 articles, 80,4 % was coded as WJ, while only 7,8 % was coded as PJ. 11,8 % was coded as Not Applicable, N/A.

This is not at all surprising; news articles are more common than other forms of articles, and especially when it comes to reporting from a foreign conflict. What is interesting is comparing the general result of WJ versus PJ with the more “free” style of reporting that comes with the variables “Story/Reportage”, “Review” and “Essay”, who all shows a tendency to lean towards PJ.

Although, the variables “Essay” and “Review” is not represented enough to draw an analysis from, I find the “Story/Reportage” result interesting. It reflects to Galtung’s (2002) comparison between PJ and health-journalism, instead of playing the zero-sum game, you devote yourself to describe all the warring parties (symptoms), the context (medical history and spreading of the disease) and the potential future (where to take it from here). Longer stories where you can explore the conflict further give you a higher probability to publish peace journalism. And there is a lot less reportage in a newspaper compared to news articles. Another factor that played its part in the higher number of WJ articles was the combination of “News”-articles and the variable “Swedish interest”. 84 % of the articles with a “Swedish interest” focus were coded as “News” articles, and 75 out of the 148 articles – 50,7 % of all the articles.

All of those articles had kidnappings of Swedes as the main angle. As I discussed above, news articles are more likely to be coded as WJ. That is also the case when it comes to kidnapping articles – only eight out of 75 was coded as PJ. It is hard to point out to exactly why, but it does follow some logic if we compare the result with the first column in Table 1.

There, it shows that the kidnapping articles almost tick every box. Focus on two parties (“och nu spelar man översittare mot den kraft, gerillan, som slåss mot det militära och paramilitära skräckväldet.” #2), closed space (only focus on direct implications of the kidnapping of the Swedish Skanska engineers), us versus them (Swedish and Colombian authorities versus Farc), visible effects (“hon skall ut och köpa lite nya kläder åt sin man, som magrat betänkligt under strapatserna.” #49). The kidnapping story is interesting, and attractive to Swedish newspapers since they now have a clear proximity (Ghersetti, 2012: p. 212) to the conflict, it is a deviation (does not happen that often), could have an elite-focus (quotes from presidents, ambassadors, guerrilla-leaders) and, above all, it is very simple: almost all of the articles only concluded that there was a civil war going on, and – at least what it seemed – Farc was the only actor besides the often quoted Colombian government. Without the articles regarding the

kidnappings of Swedish citizens, the difference in WJ and PJ-articles would be much, much lower.

Comparing peace journalism-theory and Asp's study of flow of information, it is quite easy to draw a connection between Galtung's ideas in Table 1 – exploring conflict formations and hidden agendas, and focus on otherwise “invisible” effects of violence – and information depth.

If that assumption were to be accurate, it would suggest that – in this paper – the two evening papers Aftonbladet and Expressen would have had a higher percentage of PJ-articles.

This did not turn out to be the case, as we can see in Table 8, but rather the opposite was true. Svenska Dagbladet, Dagens Nyheter and Expressen were all fairly close to the average percentage of WJ-articles, 70,9 %, but the only outlier was Aftonbladet, who were 9,1 % above the total average.

Perhaps the study is too small to find an interesting correlation here, however, it would be interesting to see if there is in fact a difference in WJ and PJ-reporting between evening and daily newspapers.

Concerning the papers political alignment, again, the result of Table 8 proved a little bit underwhelming in this case. Since both the evening papers proved to have a higher percentage of WJ-articles, it is hard to draw a conclusion out of the theory that I used. Although, what the result does show is that the only outlier was the only paper with leftist views. Naturally, this selection is way too small to draw a significant conclusion from, however, further studies would be interesting.

To briefly conclude – yes, there is a rather great tendency towards war journalism among reporters from newspapers in Sweden when they cover the Colombian conflict, which confirms Galtung's assumptions and research that most conflict reporters write in a war journalism-fashion. Although, the evening newspapers had a greater tendency towards war journalism than peace journalism, which *could* challenge Asp's findings that evening papers tend to report with more depth in their information – however the evening papers result did not differ too much from the daily papers.

However, limited studies like this are what they are, and the conception of the result must reflect on that fact.

Sure, one could argue that this study tells you something on how Swedish reporters and newspapers write about the Colombian conflict, but also how they produce news in general.

But to reach a broader and more holistic conclusion about war or peace journalism reporting, one have to analyse how Swedish press writes about conflict in general, in a broader study.

And there is plenty of interesting subjects to do more research about: do female reporters in general report less in a WJ-fashion than male reporters, is there a decline in war reporting in general and is there a difference in WJ versus PJ when it comes to which format you use?

I also think it is important to step out of, if you wish, the “peace journalism-bubble” of sanctimonious tendencies and up-tightness. Reporting conflict is not easy, and very dependent of the interest of the consumer. As seen in this paper, conflict reporting usually evolves around short and fact-induced articles, and if there is room for short and concise articles without simplify too much, there could be a lot to gain for conflict journalists.

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Medievärlden, 2016. Kihlström, Linnea., “Anmälningarna ökar men PON:s fällningar ligger stabilt”. 2016-02-02. Retrieved: 2018-06-05. URL: <https://www.mediavarlden.se/2016/02/anmalningarna-okar-men-pons-fallningar-ligger-stabilt/>

7. Appendix I – The Code Book

A. Artikel-ID

Number + Name

B. Writer (Solely for administrative purposes)

Name

C. Gender (Writer)

0. N/A

1. Male (s)

2. Female (s)

3. Mix

D. Publication

1. Svenska Dagbladet

2. Dagens Nyheter

3. Expressen

4. Aftonbladet

E. Article Theme

0. N/A

1. Editorial

2. News Article

3. Story/Reportage

4. Interview

5. Debate article

6. Review

7. Chronicle

8. Comment

9. Essay

F. Article Focus

0. N/A

1. Direct action of violence

2. Negotiations

3. Conflict description in general

4. Swedish interest

5. Peace agreement

G. (year) Published

1. 1995

2. 2002

3. 2009

4. 2017

H1. War/Violence vs. Peace/Conflict

0. N/A

1. War Journalism

2. Peace Journalism

H2. Truth vs Propaganda

0. N/A

1. War Journalism

2. Peace Journalism

H3. Elite vs People

0. N/A

1. War Journalism

2. Peace Journalism

H4. Solution vs Victory

0. N/A

1. War Journalism

2. Peace Journalism

I. War Journalism vs Peace Journalism.

0. N/A

1. War Journalism

2. Peace Journalism

8. Appendix II – Coded articles

1. Listan med krav från gerillan en bluff?

Staffan Thorsell, Expressen.
1995-01-03

2. Gerilla, terrorister – och svensk 'diplomati'

Dick Emanuelsson,
Aftonbladet. 1995-01-07

- | | |
|---|---|
| 3. Hopp för svensk gisslan | Sune Olofsson, Svenska Dagbladet. 1995-01-08 |
| 4. Bryt tystnaden om våldets Colombia | Eva Zetterberg (v), Aftonbladet, 1995-01-09 |
| 5. Amnesty försöker hjälpa svenskarna | Henrik Klemetz, Expressen, 1995-01-10 |
| 6. Farc behandlar oftast fångar väl | Eva Bäckstedt, Svenska Dagbladet. 1995-01-15 |
| 7. Svenskar gisslan i en månad | Eva Bäckstedt, Svenska Dagbladet. 1995-01-15 |
| 8. Överskatta inte Sveriges möjligheter | Juan Fonseca (s), Aftonbladet, 1995-01-16 |
| 9. Granska Skanska | Claes Croner, Aftonbladet. 1995-01-23 |
| 10. Colombiasvenskarna i brev: Vi mår bra | Magnus Sundholm, Markus Gustafsson, Aftonbladet. 1995-02-11 |
| 11. Gisslans familjer har fått nytt hopp | Henrik Klemetz, Expressen. 1995-02-11 |
| 12. Livstecken från kidnappade svenskar | Lotta Schullerqvist, Dagens Nyheter. 1995-02-11 |
| 13. Färdig plan för frigivande | Nils Horner, Svenska Dagbladet. 1995-02-13 |
| 14. "Vi är i kidnapparnas händer" | Nils Horner, Svenska Dagbladet. 1995-02-18 |
| 15. Biskop starkt kritisk mot Skanska | Nils Horner, Svenska Dagbladet. 1995-02-19 |
| 16. Skugga över dammbygge | Nils Horner, Svenska Dagbladet. 1995-02-21 |
| 17. "Svenskarna fria om några dagar" | Magnus Sundholm, SvD. 1995-02-25 |
| 18. Skanska tänker fullfölja bygge | Bosse Brink, Aftonbladet. 1995-03-01 |
| 19. Gisslan kan snart bli fri | Nils Horner, Svenska Dagbladet. 1995-03-01 |
| 20. Efter 76 dygn kom äntligen beskedet. – Våra män släpps fria | Henrik Klemetz, Thomas Mattsson, Expressen. 1995-03-01 |
| 21. Snart hemma | Anonym, Expressen. 1995-03-01 |
| 22. Krisgrupp redo i Colombia | Nils Horner, SvD. 1995-03-02 |
| 23. "Fria snart" kan betyda väntan i två veckor | Leif Åke Johansson, Aftonbladet, 1995-03-03 |
| 24. – Pappa kom hem | Leif Åke Johansson, Aftonbladet. 1995-03-04 |
| 25. Här är svenskarna fångna | Leif Åke Johansson, Aftonbladet, 1995-03-06 |

26. "Gerillan har brutit löftet om gisslan" Nils Horner, SvD. 1995-03-06
Henrik Klemetz, Expressen. 1995-03-06
27. Gerillan vägrar släppa gisslan Leif Åke Johansson, Aftonbladet. 1995-03-07
Henrik Klemetz, Expressen. 1995-03-08
28. Gerillan slog till igen - 17 döda i Colombia Sture Olsson, Aftonbladet, 1995-03-10
Bitte Hammargren, SvD. 1995-03-10
Nina Bergström, Expressen. 1995-03-10
29. "Gerillan är ute efter pengar" Nils Horner, SvD. 1995-03-11
30. Riksdagsman till Colombia för att vädja till gerillan Annika Engström, SvD. 1995-03-11
Henrik Klemetz, Expressen. 1995-03-24
Henrik Klemetz, Aftonbladet. 1995-04-02
31. Riksdagsman hopp för gisslan Leif Åke Johansson, Aftonbladet. 1995-04-03
Henrik Klemetz, Expressen. 1995-04-03
Henrik Klemetz, Expressen. 1995-05-06
32. Han vill rädda gisslan Fredrik Virtanen, Aftonbladet. 1995—05-08
33. Kontakter med gerillan ger optimism Henrik Klemetz, Expressen. 1995-05-08
34. Fonseca talar för gisslan Nils Horner, SvD. 1995-05-09
35. Svenskarna: Vi är dödströtta Tobias Hellström. Expressen, 1995-05-12
Leif Åke Johansson, Aftonbladet. 1995-05-12
Bitte Hammargren, SvD. 1995-05-13
Peter Hoelstad, SvD. 1995-05-13
Anna Maria Rehnberg, Tomas Skoglund, Nils Horner, SvD. 1995-05-13
36. "Gerillan släpper svenskarna idag" Juan Carlos Perez Salazar, Expressen. 1995-05-13
37. Rykten om frigivning Nils Horner, Per-Anders Pettersson, SvD. 1995-05-14
38. Gerillan väntar med att släppa svenskarna Nils Horner, SvD. 1995-05-15
39. Fackledare på Skanska mördad
40. 'Svenskarna fria i morse'
41. Rykten i morse: svenskarna fria. De kan ha förväxlats med andra svenskar
42. Rykte om fri gisslan var falskt
43. "Trötta men välbehållna". Svenskarna frigavs i natt efter 150 dygn som
44. I natt firade de med sina familjer
45. Våld ger plats i västerländska medier
46. "Hej, nu är vi fria"
47. "Vi spelade schack med gerillan"
48. "Vi vill stanna i Colombia"
49. "Vi funderade aldrig på att ge upp"
50. Drama som i agentroman

51. Lars Franklin, mannen som fick loss de två kidnappade svenskarna: "Gud hade
Susanne Hobohm, Expressen. 1995-05-21
Eva Zetterberg, Karl-Göran Biörsmark, Aftonbladet. 1995—05-30
Henrik Klemetz, Expressen. 1995—06-12
Henrik Klemetz, Expressen. 1995-06-27
52. Var finns intresset för Colombia nu?
Mia Holmberg Karlsson, SvD. 2017-12-30
Mauricio Rojas, SvD. 2017-09-17
Henrik Brandao Jönsson, Dagens Nyheter. 2017-09-16
53. 28 dog i bombdådet
Karin Thurfjell, SvD. 2017-08-16
Ulrika Knutson, Expressen. 2017-08-08
Inga-Lina Lindqvist, Aftonbladet. 2017-08-08
Henrik Brandao Jönsson, Dagens Nyheter. 2017-06-16
Henrik Brandao Jönsson, Dagens Nyheter. 2017-05-31
54. "Kidnapparna fick 43 miljoner för svenskarna"
55. Inte bara elände – här är positiva nyheter från 2017
Tomas Lundin, SvD. 2017-05-01
56. Syndikaten som tar kontroll över stater
Tomas Lundin, 2017-05-01
Henrik Brandao Jönsson, Dagens Nyheter. 2017-04-30
Olle Ohlsén Pettersson, 2017-04-30
SvD, 2017-02-20.
Johan Schmidt, SvD. 2002-12-30
SvD, 2002-12-21
Camilla Ingman-Fulton, Johan Sjöström, Malin Henriksson, SvD. 2002-12-14
Wolfgang Hansson, Aftonbladet, 2002-10-10
Johan Schmidt, SvD. 2002-09-26
Per Jönsson, Dagens Nyheter. 2002-09-06
Johan Schmidt, Aftonbladet.
57. Tillfällig vapenvila "stort steg"
58. Tro på förändring ska hjälpa krigets barn till liv i trygghet
59. Smart om Colombia
60. Kaffe är lika osynligt och nödvändigt som luft
61. Freden skapar babyboom i Farc-gerillan
62. "Regeringen sköter inte avtalet seriöst"
63. Colombias djungelsoldater möttern en framtid utan vapen
64. Fredens baksida i Colombia: kokainhandeln ökar dramatiskt
65. 1 000 räddningsarbetare söker efter överlevare
66. Paramilitärer hotar freden
67. 60 döda i strider i Colombia
68. Flera ambassader stänger i Colombia
69. Samtal med högermilis i Colombia
70. Vi får inte offra rättstaten
71. Jordens alla krig 27 konflikter som dödat miljoner
72. Krigsherren Castano villig att ge upp
73. Den svages vapen heter Terror
74. En bödels berättelse

- 2002-08-07
Anders Blank, Aftonbladet,
2002-07-21
Mia Holmgren, Dagens
Nyheter, 2002-06-29
Mia Holmgren, Dagens
Nyheter, 2002-06-20
Mia Holmgren, Dagens Nyheter,
2002-06-11
Mia Holmgren, Dagens
Nyheter, 2002-05-28
Magnus Linton, Expressen,
2002-05-28
Mia Holmgren, Dagens
Nyheter, 2002-05-27
Mia Holmgren, Dagens
Nyheter, 2002-05-26
Johan Schmidt, SvD. 2002-05-
26
Mia Holmgren, Dagens
Nyheter, 2002-05-24
Bengt Albons, Dagens Nyheter,
2002-05-12
Erik Sidenbladh, SvD. 2002-05-
04
Svante Liden, Aftonbladet,
2002-05-03
Karin Sörbring, Expressen,
2002-04-30
Annika Whittembury Ryberg,
SvD. 2002-02-26
Asbjörn Svarstad, Aftonbladet,
2002-02-25
Jeremy Lennard, Dagens
Nyheter, 2002-02-22
Knut Göran Källberg,
Aftonbladet, 2002-02-08
Jan Blomgren, Svenska
Dagbladet, 2002
Asbjörn Svarstad, Aftonbladet,
2002
Hans-Henrik Rönnow, Dagens
Nyheter, 2002
Tore Börjesson, Aftonbladet,
2002
Hans-Henrik Rönnow, Dagens
Nyheter, 2002
75. "En bunt dollar löser allt"
76. Colombia: En överlevare i våldets skugga
77. Barnsoldater söker en väg tillbaka
78. Kokainet genomsyrar allt
79. Presidenten öppnar för fredssamtal
80. Uribes näve
81. Uribe ny president i Colombia
82. Presidentvalet i Colombia: Frukta för terrorattack på valdagen
83. Recept för Colombia: mer våld
84. DN i Colombia: Spänt läge inför valet i Colombia
85. Våldet i Colombia trappas upp
86. Elva nya organisationer finns med på den uppdaterade terroristlistan EU presenterade igår
87. Bomben var nära att döda Carolina, 5 år
88. Bomben smäll under Carolina. svensk femåring svårt skadad i attentat i
89. Colombiansk gerilla i Venezuela
90. Pappan är också död nu
91. Hon lever mitt i skottlinjen
92. Presidentkandidat gerillafånge
93. Presidentkandidat gisslan i Colombia
94. Kidnappad – trots vit flagg
95. Bombflyg till attack mot Farc-gerillan
96. Shakira - Colombias allra finaste
97. Colombias gerilla får en ny frist

98. Colombias eviga plågoris
 99. Farc en av världens rikaste gerillor
 100. Guvernör hittad mördad
 101. Identitetskris präglar fritt Latinamerika
 102. Van vid ständig bevakning:
 Människorättsadvokaten Alirio Uribe kartlades av
 103. Indianerna vågar ta sig ton igen
 104. Gränslös musikfest på Kuba för tolerans och
 islossning
 105. Uribe vill ändra lagen för att behålla makten
 106. Ändrad grundlag ger Uribe chans till omval
 107. Sydamerikanskt krismöte om USA-baser i
 Colombia
 108. USA-plan väcker protester i söder
 109. Chavez skramlar
 110. USA-baser skapar oro i Sydamerika
 111. Vapen på villovägar
 112. Lätt fara vilse med gps
 113. Venezuela skulle fått avslag idag
 114. Farc skjuter svenskt
 115. Varför allt detta våld i Latinamerika
 116. Framgångsrik kampanj mot kokain i Colombia
 117. Fångar hos Farc
 118. Ingen rubrik tillgänglig
 119. Marschern var värst - Roland Larsson berättar
 om fångenskapen hos Farc-gerillan
 120. Hopp om fred i Colombia
 121. Farc-fången tillbaka i Sverige
 122. Farc-fånge tillbaka i Sverige
 123. Farc-fången hemma igen
 124. Farc redo för fredsamtal
 125. Sjukdomen fick honom fri
 126. Ingen rubrik tillgänglig
 127. Det ska bli skönt att få åka hem
 128. Spelet över för dödens köpman
- DN, 2002
 SvD, 2002.
 Håkan Forsberg, SvD. 2009-12-24
 Peter Landelius, SvD. 2009-10-26
 Håkan Forsberg, SvD, 2009-10-18
 Erik de la Reguera, Dagens Nyheter, 2009-10-12
 Håkan Forsberg, SvD. 2009-09-20
 Erik de la Reguera, Dagens Nyheter. 2009-09-07
 Håkan Forsberg, SvD. 2009-09-20
 Erik de la Reguera, DN, 2009-09-07
 Håkan Forsberg, SvD. 2009-09-09
 Håkan Boström, SvD. 2009-09-03
 Håkan Forsberg, 2002.
 DN, 2002.
 Ewa Stenberg, DN. 2009-08-28
 Negra Efendic, SvD. 2009-08-24
 Magnus Linton, DN, 2009-08-08
 Håkan Forsberg, SvD, 2009-08-07
 Håkan Forsberg, 2002
 Magnus Linton, 2009-08-02
 SvD
 Gunnar Sörbring, SvD. 2009-07-30
 Erik de la Reguera, 2009-07-29
 Robert Holender, 2009-06-24
 Sofia Strandberg, SvD. 2009-06-24
 Ida Thellenberg, Expressen 2009
 Erik de la Reguera, DN, 2009-
 Nathalie Joo, Jonas
 Esbjörnsson, Expressen 2009-
 Håkan Forsberg, SvD, 2009-
 Roland Johansson, Aftonbladet
 Oisin Cantwell, Aftonbladet

129. Ingen rubrik tillgänglig
130. Gerillan är hårt pressad
131. Grattis Larsson - nu är det Isaaks tur
132. Han var sig lik på pricken
133. Kokainpengarna ersätter lösensummorna
134. "Jag längtar hem"
135. Familjen i natt efter beskedet: Det känns fantastiskt
136. Fri från gerillan
137. Ringde till sonen: "Fritagningen gick väldigt fort"
138. Släpptes fri efter sju år hos gerillan
139. Tommy, jag är sjuk
140. Farc frigav ny gisslan
141. Fyra i Farc-gerillans gisslan släppta - svenske Roland kvar i fångenskap
142. Kidnappad man skickade video
143. Roland, 69, enda utläningen kvar som Farc-gisslan
144. Hålls fånge i djungeln
145. Nödop från djungeln: "Jag är sjuk"
146. Farc friger kidnappade politiker
147. Chavez makt byggd på olja, våld och retorik
148. USA och Ryssland slåss om ökänd vapenhandlare
- 2009-
Håkan Forsberg, SvD, 2009-
Sofia Ström, Aftonbladet 2009-
Åsa Linderborg, Aftonbladet,
2009-
Robert Holender, SvD 2009-
Terese Christiansson, Expressen,
2009-
Nathalie Joo, Expressen, 2009-
Simon Andrén, Aftonbladet,
2009-
Jonas Esbjörnsson, Expressen,
2009-
Åsa Asplid, Expressen, 2009-
Ida Thellenberg, Expressen,
2009-
Staffan Lindberg, Aftonbladet,
2009-
Erik de la Reguera, Dagens
Nyheter 2009-

Sofia Ström, Aftonbladet, 2009-
Sofia Strandberg, SvD, 2009-
Anders Sandqvist, Expressen,
2009-
Roland Johansson, Aftonbladet,
2009-
Anna Norberg, Expressen,
2009-
Håkan Forsberg, SvD, 2009-
Inger Enkvist, SvD. 2009-

Bertil Lintner, SvD, 2009-

Stockholms universitet/Stockholm University
SE-106 91 Stockholm
Telefon/Phone: 08 – 16 20 00
www.su.se



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